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## Alkman and the Athenian Arkteia

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# ALKMAN AND THE ATHENIAN ARKTEIA

(PLATES 83–86)

IN 1963 AND 1965 Lilly Kahil published fragments of a number of small 6th- and 5th-century black-figured vases, which she called *krateriskoi*.<sup>1</sup> These *krateriskoi*, which were found in Brauron, Piraeus, and the Athenian Agora, immediately called attention to themselves by their distinctive shape, fabric, and iconography.<sup>2</sup> Kahil subsequently published three much larger red-figured *kraters* with similar shape and similar iconography but of unknown provenance and republished some *krateriskos* fragments from the Athenian Akropolis.<sup>3</sup> More recently, Lydia Palaiokrassa in her publication of the finds from a sanctuary of Artemis at Mounichia has more than doubled the number of published *krateriskoi*. The connection of almost all the findspots with Artemis and the repeated depiction on the vases of young girls dancing, racing (sometimes naked), or processing near an altar and a palm tree has led scholars to agree that the vases are cult objects and that the representations depict the ritual of the *arkteia*, at which Athenian girls at a certain age “were bears”

<sup>1</sup> Kahil, 1963 and 1965. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Lydia Palaiokrassa for lending me (via Professor Diskin Clay) her copy of her book and for permission to reproduce its plates here.

Reference to the following will be made in abbreviated form:

- |                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| Calame, 1977     | = C. Calame, <i>Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque</i> , Rome 1977   |
| Calame, 1983     | = C. Calame, <i>Alcman</i> , Rome 1983   |
| Kahil, 1963      | = L. Kahil, “Quelques vases du sanctuaire d’Artémis à Brauron,” <i>AntK</i> Beiheft 1, 1963, pp. 5–29                                      |
| Kahil, 1965      | = L. Kahil, “Autour de l’Artémis attique,” <i>AntK</i> 8, 1965, pp. 20–33  |
| Kahil, 1977      | = L. Kahil, “L’Artémis de Brauron: Rites et mystère,” <i>AntK</i> 20, 1977, pp. 86–98  |
| Kahil, 1981      | = L. Kahil, “Le ‘cratérisque’ d’Artémis et le Brauronion de l’Acropole,” <i>Hesperia</i> 50, 1981, pp. 253–263                             |
| Kahil, 1983      | = L. Kahil, “Mythological Repertoire of Brauron,” in <i>Ancient Greek Art and Iconography</i> , W. G. Moon, ed., Madison 1983, pp. 231–244 |
| Montepaone       | = C. Montepaone, “L’ <i>ἀρκτεία</i> a Brauron,” <i>Studi storico religiosi</i> 3, 1979, pp. 343–364  |
| Osborne          | = R. Osborne, <i>Demos</i> , Cambridge 1985  |
| PMG              | = <i>Poetae melici graeci</i> , D. L. Page, ed., Oxford 1962   |
| Palaiokrassa     | = L. Palaiokrassa, <i>Τό ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Μουνιχίας</i> , diss. University of Thessaloniki, 1983   |
| Perlman          | = P. Perlman, “Plato <i>Laws</i> 833C–834D and the Bears of Brauron,” <i>GRBS</i> 24, 1983, pp. 115–130                                    |
| Rühfel           | = H. Rühfel, <i>Kinderleben im klassischen Athen</i> , Mainz 1984  |
| Simon            | = E. Simon, <i>Festivals of Attica</i> , Madison 1983  |
| Sourvinou-Inwood | = C. Sourvinou-Inwood, <i>Studies in Girls’ Transitions</i> , Athens 1988  |

<sup>2</sup> The shape seems to be archaic or archaizing, although no precise comparison has been found. As for the fabric, one of Palaiokrassa’s most important observations (p. 78) is that the clay in the Brauronian *krateriskoi* is different from that in the Mounichian ones, both apparently being local wares: “The clay in the Brauronian pots is large-grained, not as pure as usual, and has a brownish color with orange hue (ὑποκάστανο, μέ πορτοκαλόχρωμη ἀπόχρωση). In the Mounichian fragments the clay is small-grained and frequently has a bright orange color (συννά πορτοκαλί ζωρό χρώμα).”

<sup>3</sup> Kahil, 1977 and 1981; she publishes one more illustration (Brauron Museum 567 = 1 below), Kahil, 1983, p. 236.

(ἄρκτοι) for Artemis.<sup>4</sup> Since one of the red-figured vases shows a bear and another shows two humans “wearing masks of bears”, Kahil concluded that the vases show “one or two essential moments of the initiation rite” and that the transformed humans are participating in the “mysterion itself” of the ritual.<sup>5</sup> Although most scholars have accepted her interpretation, it presents a number of serious problems that have not been addressed. The figures on the vases show a wide range in age, dress, and activity, very little of which has any probable connection with Brauronian ritual as it is described in the literary sources.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, there are a considerable number of hitherto unremarked similarities between the depictions on the krateriskoi and the rituals described in Alkman’s partheneia which suggest that what we have in both cases are typical female ritual activities, activities that can be found in 7th-century Sparta as easily as in 5th-century Athens.<sup>7</sup>

Let us begin with a catalogue of the published krateriskoi depicting human activity:<sup>8</sup>

1. Krateriskos fragment, Brauron Museum 567. Kahil, 1983, fig. 15:10. A female with hair in a bun(?) wearing an unsleeved dress coming to midhigh runs with head back(?) to the right with altar and palm on the left.

<sup>4</sup> Osborne (p. 155) challenges the assumption that the Akropolis fragments mark the location of Artemis’ cult on the Akropolis: “all the fragments may come from a single vessel, and the case of the Cave of Pan warns that they may be found even where Artemis is not the main deity worshipped.” See also Sourvinou-Inwood: “I do not find it convincing to suppose that the arkteia was performed in connection with a cave sanctuary in which Artemis was not the principal divinity, or in the Agora, or on the Akropolis without leaving any trace in the literary sources” (p. 116).

<sup>5</sup> Kahil (1983, pp. 237–238) followed by Palaiokrassa (p. 93), E. Keuls (*The Reign of the Phallus*, New York 1985, p. 312), A. Henrichs (“Three Approaches to Greek Mythography,” in *Interpretations of Greek Myth*, J. Bremer, ed., Totowa 1986 [pp. 242–277], p. 265), and R. Seaford (“The Eleventh Ode of Bacchylides,” *JHS* 108, 1988 [pp. 118–136], p. 122, note 22).

<sup>6</sup> The ritual at Mounichia must be kept to the side since it is not described at all. The two references to it (Harpokration, s.v. ἀρκτεῖσαι; scholium L to Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 645) couple it with the Brauronian arkteia, which was probably its model.

<sup>7</sup> Calame (1977), despite his detailed study of the evidence for girls’ rituals, does not note this parallelism and mentions the ceremony at Brauron only in passing, as one of many girls’ rituals honoring a variety of gods.

<sup>8</sup> I have not included the third vase published by Kahil (1977, pl. 20), for reasons explained below, pp. 462–463. I have excluded the following Mounichian fragments since they are not illustrated by Palaiokrassa: a) Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk14: head and part of the shoulder of a naked female who holds a crown in her right hand. b) Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk15: woman facing front, head to the left, wearing a girt chiton decorated with white; another fragment from the same pot shows a female wearing a chiton. c) Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk19: legs and part of altar. d) Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk25: woman wearing sleeveless (ἀχειρίδωτο) chiton decorated with wavy horizontal lines faces front, head to right, stretching left hand with garland to right, behind which may be flames (of an altar). e) Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk27: head turned left. f) Krateriskos fragments, Piraeus Museum Kk32: three females(?) wearing periskelides run left. g) Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk43: head with fillets in hair; garland at right. h) Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk49: hand and leg of naked figure to left of altar and palm. i) Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk50: female wearing sleeveless(?) chitoniskos decorated with horizontal white lines and spots runs right; large garland to left. j) Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk51: legs of two figures running right, one wearing short periskelides decorated with light brown crossed lines; bottom of garland above legs. k) Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk52: female with shoulder-length hair wearing chiton decorated with white folds and himation flowing from shoulder moves (“dancing”: Palaiokrassa, p. 94) right, head turned back, left hand stretched out to right.

2. Krateriskos fragment, Brauron Museum 572. Kahil, 1965, fig. 8:5; Kahil, 1983, fig. 15:9; Keuls (footnote 5 above), fig. 278; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 3:5. Three young females with short hair, wearing sleeved dresses coming to mid thigh with white border(?), process toward a flaming altar at left; a garland hangs in the background.
3. Krateriskos, Brauron Museum 546. Kahil, 1965, fig. 7:5; Kahil, 1983, fig. 15:7; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 6:5. A naked female with hair tied in a bun(?) holding a torch runs right; a fillet hangs at right.
4. Krateriskos, Brauron Museum 542. Kahil, 1965, fig. 7:2, 4, 6; Kahil, 1983, fig. 15:8; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 6:2, 4, 6. Two females with hair tied in a bun wearing unsleeved, hip-length dresses stand facing right near an altar and palm tree; a garland hangs in the background.
5. Krateriskos fragment, Brauron Museum krateriskos no. 5. Kahil, 1965, fig. 8:1; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 3:1. A female, hair in a bun(?), wearing a short-sleeved dress coming to mid thigh, runs with outstretched hand to the right by an altar.
6. Krateriskos fragment, Brauron Museum 568. Kahil, 1965, fig. 8:2; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 3:2. A very young female with short hair tied in a topknot(?), wearing an unsleeved, hip-length dress with white zigzag decoration, runs to the right.
7. Krateriskos fragment, Brauron Museum krateriskos no. 7. Kahil, 1965, fig. 8:3; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 3:3. A female wearing an unsleeved dress coming to mid thigh and decorated with incised lines runs to the right by a palm.
8. Krateriskos fragment, Brauron Museum 915. Kahil, 1965, fig. 8:4; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 3:4. A female with hair tied in a bun(?), wearing an unsleeved dress coming to mid thigh with folds indicated in white, dances to the right with head back, holding a torch.
9. Krateriskos, Brauron Museum 548. Kahil, 1965, fig. 7:3; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*, Munich 1969, fig. 147; Rühfel, fig. 57; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 6:3. Three naked females, each with hair tied in a bun(?), run to the right near an altar.
10. Krateriskos fragment, Brauron Museum krateriskos no. 10. Kahil, 1965, fig. 8:6; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 3:6. Two naked females, each with hair in a bun(?), dance to the right(?) with head back, holding a garland.
11. Krateriskos fragment, Brauron Museum 570. Kahil, 1965, fig. 8:7; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 3:7. Two naked females dance to the right with arms raised.
12. Pl. 83. Krateriskos fragments, Piraeus Museum Kk3. Palaiokrassa, pl. 44:γ. Woman, head back and long hair bound with purple fillet, dances (or runs?) right with arms outstretched, wearing short-sleeved, full-length chiton with folds decorated in white. Arms extended before and behind her.
13. Pl. 83. Krateriskos fragment. Piraeus Museum Kk8, inv. no. EM 20573. Palaiokrassa, pl. 45:β. Altar(?) with person's foot to left and standing figure in full-length, sleeveless chiton with himation, to right; farther right is a female with long (bound?) hair, in a belted peplos and himation draped around shoulders, its folds decorated in white, walking toward altar (processing? dancing?) with right hand raised and left hand held at wrist by a fourth figure whose foot and hand alone are visible at the right edge of the fragment.
14. Pl. 83. Krateriskos fragments, Piraeus Museum Kk9. Palaiokrassa, pl. 46:α. Figure in hip-length, sleeveless(?) dress, hand stretched behind, moves ("runs": Palaiokrassa, p. 190) to the right away from altar and palm tree (or just altar? cf. 16).

15. Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk16. Palaiokrassa, pl. 46:β (there mislabeled γ). A hand with a torch, flame streaming left.
16. Pl. 84. Krateriskos fragments, Piraeus Museum Kk17. Palaiokrassa, pl. 47:γ. Woman with long hair bound in fillet ("krobylos": Palaiokrassa, p. 193) wearing a sleeveless, full-length chiton decorated with white raises right foot in dance (?; "running": Palaiokrassa, p. 193) and looks to altar(?) at left.
17. Pl. 84. Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk18. Palaiokrassa, pl. 46:δ. Figure with hair pulled tight around face like a bathing cap and piled in two earlike buns above her head, one tied with white fillet.
18. Pl. 84. Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk21. Palaiokrassa, pl. 46:γ (mislabeled β). A woman, probably naked, hair in bun, runs(?) right with hand outstretched ("holding krotala?": Palaiokrassa, p. 195); garland hanging.
19. Pl. 84. Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk24. Palaiokrassa, pl. 47:α. Woman wearing a sleeveless dress decorated with white crosshatching looks left and holds out a garland in her right hand.
20. Pl. 85. Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk26. Palaiokrassa, pl. 48:α. Two figures in thigh-length, belted dresses and himations flowing from shoulders run(?) to right (or in opposite directions?). "Their faces are turned back left and their hands stretch slantwise" (Palaiokrassa, p. 197).
21. Pl. 85. Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk53. Palaiokrassa, pl. 51:β. Woman with hair in bun ("with fillets": Palaiokrassa, p. 206), head turned to right, wears sleeveless, belted dress decorated with horizontal white lines; the bottom of the dress is puffed out, which suggests that the figure is dancing.
22. Pl. 85. Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk54. Palaiokrassa, pl. 51:γ. Figure in full-length chiton decorated with white along folds moves right ("dancing": Palaiokrassa, p. 74).
23. Pl. 85. Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk55. Palaiokrassa, pl. 52:α; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 5. Naked woman with developed breasts ("the only such on the Mounichian krateriskoi": Palaiokrassa, p. 208), hair in bun and tied with fillet, runs (or dances) right, holding garland; to her right are the right leg and right arm, holding a garland, of another naked figure.
24. Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk56. Palaiokrassa, pl. 51:δ. Hand holds torch, flame streaming right. Curving, white vertical column to left (house? palm?).
25. Krateriskos fragment, Piraeus Museum Kk57. Palaiokrassa, pl. 52:β. Hand holds krotala.
26. Krateriskos fragment; sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule, inv. no. 933; Δελτ 19, 1964, A' (1965), pl. 21:4; Kahil, 1965, fig. 9:6. Two females wearing unsleeved, full-length dresses dance, head back(?), to the right(?), holding garlands.
27. Krateriskos fragment, sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule, inv. no. 934; Δελτ 19, 1964, A' (1965), pl. 21:5; Kahil, 1965, fig. 9:10. A female, hair in a bun, wearing an unsleeved, full-length dress, stands or dances to the right(?) with head back, holding a staff or torch.
28. Krateriskos fragment, Athens, Agora P 128. Kahil, 1965, fig. 9:11; Kahil, 1981, pl. 62:8; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 4:7. A female, hair tied(?), wearing a short-sleeved, full-length dress with white folds, processes to the right, holding a fillet.
29. Krateriskos fragment, Athens, Agora P 14550. Kahil, 1965, fig. 9:7; Kahil, 1981, pl. 62:7; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 4:8. A young(?) female, wearing a belted dress with white folds coming to midthigh, runs(?) to the right.

30. Krateriskos, Athens, Agora P 27342. R. R. Holloway, "Exploration of the Southeast Stoa in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pl. 27:f; Kahil, 1981, pl. 62:9; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 4:9. Two females with hair in a bun, wearing unsleeved(?), knee-length dresses, dance right, hand-in-hand with head back, beside a deer.
31. Fragments of red-figured krater or krateriskos, Swiss private collection. Kahil, 1977, pl. 18:1-3; Simon, fig. 10:a, b; Rühfel, fig. 58; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 1. Fragment **a** (51 × 13.5 cm.) shows three women with hair tied in a bun and wearing chitons and himations in alternation with four girls with shoulder-length hair and unsleeved tunics coming to mid thigh and a palm (and altar? so Kahil, 1977, p. 89) on left. The woman on the left stands looking toward, and with her arm on the shoulder of, a girl to her right (whose tunic seems to be sleeved but otherwise identical to those of the other girls), who gestures to her; the woman in the middle stands looking to right holding a laurel branch in either hand; to her right is a girl running to right with arms out (holding a garland?), and to her left stands(?) a smaller girl looking left; the woman on the right holds a basket in either hand; to her left is another, smaller girl running to right. Fragment **b** (25 × 11.5 cm.) shows three girls with shoulder-length hair and unsleeved tunics coming to mid thigh running right, the middle one with hands outstretched (holding a garland?), having passed a palm. There is a hand at the far right.
32. Fragments of red-figured krater or krateriskos, Swiss private collection. Kahil, 1977, pl. 19:1-3; Keuls (footnote 5 above), fig. 279; Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 2. Fragment **a** (33 × 17 cm.) shows three naked females with back-length hair in strands followed by a naked girl with short hair; all run left past a palm tree and rock, holding garlands(?) in their hands; below is a frieze of two hunting dogs running after a deer on the right. Fragment **b** (12.5 × 7.5 cm.) shows a bear by a palm tree. Fragment **c** (27 × 21.5 cm.) shows four naked females running to right; the two in the middle (one with back-length hair in a clump, the other with short hair) hold garlands, and the one on the left with hair tied in a bun looks back. Only one leg of the figure on the right is visible.

While this catalogue takes account of all the Mounichian finds, it appears that only a small sample has been published of the "hundreds and hundreds of krateriskoi found all over the sanctuary" at Brauron (Kahil, 1983, p. 235). Even so it is clear that the vases do not show the degree of uniformity we might expect from representations of an initiation ritual. The participants range from very young girls to adults; their garments, if they wear any, can reach to the ankles, the knees, mid thigh, or the hips; the garments can be plain or decorated with white stripes or a white border, sleeved or sleeveless, belted or without belt. The figures' hair can be long, shoulder length, short, or tied in a bun. The females most often are racing but can be depicted dancing, processing, or standing, and they can hold torch, garland, basket, staff, or laurel branches. Often an altar, a palm tree or two, and garlands are pictured in the background.

If the distribution of variables is arranged in tabular form (Table 1), no obvious patterns present themselves, but a closer look is needed before any conclusions are drawn. The first step is to match variable with variable as has been done in Table 2. The overwhelming impression given here is that anything can be paired with anything else. Some of the absences can be explained easily: no running in long garments, no hip-length garments with sleeves, no processing naked;<sup>9</sup> but many of the absences may simply be the result of having

<sup>9</sup> See Montepaone, p. 363.

TABLE 1: Iconography of Krateriskoi

	(Brauronian vases [1-11])											(Mounichian vases [12-25])														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
<b><u>Hair</u></b>																										
in bun	?		x	x	?			?	x	?								?	x			x		x		
short		x				?																				
long												x		x			x									
<b><u>Clothing</u></b>																										
naked			x						x	x	x								x					x		
sleeved		x			x							x														
unsleeved	x			x		x	x	x					x	x	?		x			x	x	x				
to hip				x		x									x											
to thigh	x	x			x		x	x													x	?				
full												x	x	x			x						x			
<b><u>Activity</u></b>																										
dance								x		x	x	?					?					?	?			
run	x		x		x	x	x		x						?				?		?				?	
process		x												?												
stand				x										x												
to right	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	?	x	x			x				x		x		x	x		
head back	?						?	x		x	?	x								x	x					
<b><u>Accessories</u></b>																										
altar	x	x		x	x				x				x	x	x		x									
palm	x			x			x								x											?
+ garland										x										x				x		
+ torch			x					x								x										x
<b><u>Age</u></b>																										
young		x				x																				

When the figures on a vase differ significantly, they are recorded separately using duplicate numbers. Thus, for example, the girls and women on fragment a of 31 have separate columns. A few times (marked with an asterisk) I have split a category to record slight variation in otherwise similar figures. Thus the four long-haired girls on 31a are all individualized in some way, although they are basically of one type (one has her head back; one stands; one holds a garland[?]; one wears a sleeved tunic).

I have not distinguished bun from knot or "krobylos", shoulder-length hair from back-length hair within the category "long", short-sleeved from long-sleeved under "sleeved", or peplos from chiton plus himation (or any other form of dress). Garlands are counted only if they are held by a figure. Running is marked by full forward motion, legs extended, back arm straight out, face usually forward (not 1). I have distinguished dancing from running when there is no full forward motion and when there are attributes appropriate to dancing; on 30 because the figures are holding hands and moving in similar stately fashion, on 11 because they are again moving in a similar stately fashion, on 8, 21, and 26 because the dress is ballooning out as if the female is spinning around, on 10 and 12 because the arms are bent in a dancing pose (with head back), on 16 because the head is back and the visible foot in a "kick" reminiscent of the *sikinnis*. 22 is considerably more doubtful. Sourvinou-Inwood (p. 104, notes 313-314) labels 11, 12, 13, and 30 dancing. (I am indebted to Eleanor Dickey for asking that I define dancing.)

TABLE 1 (continued)

	(Athenian vases [26-30])					(Red-figured vases [31, 32])							
	26	27	28	29	30	31a	31a	31b	32a	32a	32c	32c	32c
<b><u>Hair</u></b>													
in bun		x	?		x	x					x		
short										x			x
long							x	x	x			x	
<b><u>Clothing</u></b>													
naked									x	x	x	x	x
sleeved			x			x	x*						
unsleeved	x	x			?		x	x					
to hip													
to thigh				x			x	x					
full	x	x	x		x	x							
<b><u>Activity</u></b>													
dance	x				x								
run				?			x*	x	x	x	x	x	x
process			x										
stand		?				x	x*						
to right	?	?	x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x
head back	?	?			x		x*				x		
<b><u>Accessories</u></b>													
altar						?							
palm						x	x	x	x	x	?	?	?
+ garland	x						?	?	?			x	x
+ torch		?											
<b><u>Age</u></b>													
young				?			x	x		x			

so few examples in a particular category. If the question marks are discounted and only the clear cases (the zeroes) considered, there are relatively few variables that are not found with others. This is particularly true of variables that occur frequently, such as the presence of clothing (24 times) and moving/looking toward the right (26), unsleeved dress (17) and even thigh-length dress (10), all of which are found with every other variable, while the hair-bun (16), running (18), the palm (13), nakedness (11), and the altar (10) occur with all but one or two of the other features.<sup>10</sup> Conversely, variables with few examples are those that are not found with a number of other variables, and it looks as if this fact is for the most part simply the product of their infrequency rather than the indication of a significant

<sup>10</sup> Thus it is not correct to speak of age groups or running in age groups as does T. Scanlon ("The Footrace of the Heraia at Olympia," *AncW* 9, 1984 [pp. 77-90], p. 83), following Perlman.



TABLE 2: Motif Matching

motif no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1. bun	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	?	x	x	x	?	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x
2. short hair	-	-	-	x	x	?	?	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	o
3. long hair	-	-	-	x	x	x	o	x	x	?	x	?	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o
4. naked	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
5. sleeved	x	x	x	-	-	-	o	x	x	?	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	?
6. unsleeved	x	?	x	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	?	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
7. to hip	x	?	o	-	o	x	-	-	-	o	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	o
8. to thigh	?	x	x	-	x	x	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	?	x
9. full	x	o	x	-	x	x	-	-	-	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	?
10. dance	x	o	?	x	?	x	o	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	x	o	?	o	x	x
11. run	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
12. process	?	x	?	o	x	?	o	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	o	x	x	o	o	o
13. stand	x	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	?	?
14. to right	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	x
15. head back	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	-	x	?	x	x	x
16. young	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	?	o
17. altar	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	?	x	x	x	x	?	x	-	x	o	o
18. palm	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	-	?	?
19. +garland	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	?	x	x	x	o	?	x	x	?	o	?	-	o
20. +torch	x	o	o	x	?	x	o	x	?	x	x	o	?	x	x	o	o	?	o	-

x = variables occur together; o = not; - = not applicable; ? = questionable variable

Thus, no. 1 (bun) occurs with nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (probably), 9, 10, 11, 12 (probably), 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, and 20 but not with no. 16 (young) while no. 2 (short hair) occurs with nos. 4, 5, 6 (probably), 7 (probably), 8, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19 but not with nos. 9, 10, 13, 15, 20.

TABLE 3

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Unmatched variables</i>
to right	26	0
clothed	24	0
run	18	1 (full-length dress)
unsleeved	17	0
bun	16	1 (young)
palm	13	2 (dance, process)
head back	13	3 (short hair, hip-length dress, process)
naked	11	2 (process, stand)
thigh-length dress	10	0
altar	10	2 (garland, torch)
full-length dress	10	3 (short hair, run, young)
dance	9	4 (short hair, hip-length dress, palm)
garland	9	5 (hip-length dress, sleeved, process, altar, torch)
long hair	7	2 (hip-length dress, torch)
young	6	4 (bun, full-length dress, dance, torch)
sleeved	5	2 (hip-length dress, garland)
stand	5	2 (short hair, naked)
torch	5	7 (short hair, long hair, hip-length dress, process, young, altar, garland)

likely to be by chance.<sup>13</sup> The only other relationship that at present seems significant is between wearing the hair in a bun and not being young, but since the bun is in part what identifies particularly the poorly drawn females as “not young”, an obvious circularity affects the results.<sup>14</sup>

Few firm generalizations are left, then, about the iconography of the vases: 1) only females are involved; 2) apparently only older females have their hair in a bun;<sup>15</sup> 3) naturally enough, they do not race in long garments or 4) process naked and, perhaps most surprisingly, 5) they seem not to dance in the presence of an altar or palm tree.<sup>16</sup> The moments of ritual are not one or two, as Kahil thought, but must be at least three—procession, race, and dance<sup>17</sup>—and the participants seem to range in age from the very young to the fully mature. One should not generalize the activities as “the sacred race of the little girls” (Kahil, 1983,

<sup>13</sup> The distribution looks like this:

	altar/palm	none	total
dance	1(?)	8	9
other	17	8	25
total	18	16	34

chi-square (with Yates's correction) = 7.30; probability = .01

The simple statistical chi-square test (6.46) shows that this configuration is likely to occur by chance less than 1% of the time (a percentage considered very significant by statisticians), but, if one more example were to be found, the probability would increase to 5% (chi-square = 4.84), which is close to being non-significant.

<sup>14</sup> The distribution looks like this:

	young	not young	total
in bun	0	16	16
not	6	5	11
total	6	21	27

chi-square (with Yates's correction) = 8.29; probability = .01

Also, the girl on 6 seems to have her hair in a topknot, which, if equated with hair tied in a bun, would reduce the significance to 2% (chi-square = 5.60). Sourvinou-Inwood has questioned the basic equation: “these different styles [cannot] be considered iconographical signs related to differences in age since we know . . . that when hair is significant, it is relevant to symbolic/ritual classification, not to age” (p. 102). She points to representations of knotted hair on little girls as well as adult women. Still, the usual equation seems widespread on vases, and the custom of cutting the hair at marriage may be relevant (see, e.g., W. S. Barrett, *Euripides. Hippolytos*, Oxford 1964, p. 4).

<sup>15</sup> An important clue to the ritual may lie in the bit of material (fillet?) hanging down from the buns on many vases (3, 9, 8?, 10?). There is no comparable illustration in A. Krug, *Binden in der griechischen Kunst*, Hösel 1968. On the other hand, 32 shows five different hairstyles.

<sup>16</sup> *Contra*: Montepaone, p. 363; P. H. J. Lloyd-Jones, “Artemis and Iphigeneia,” *JHS* 103, 1983 (pp. 87–102), p. 93; Rühfel p. 102.

<sup>17</sup> Perhaps standing at the altar (praying?) is a fourth. The Oschophoria may be a masculine analogue for such a group of activities; see E. Kadletz, “The Race and Procession of the Athenian Oschophoroi,” *GRBS* 21, 1980 (pp. 363–371), p. 371; Kadletz thinks, however, that the naked racing parallels the procession which precedes the dance.

p. 237) and "processions of relatively mature women" (Osborne, p. 164) or seek to distinguish those above from those below the age of thirteen on the basis of the presence or absence of clothing.<sup>18</sup> Note should also be taken of Cole's cogent objection that the ritual is referred to as a *μυστήριον*, and it is "unlikely that any secret ceremony would be represented on a vase."<sup>19</sup>

I have discussed at some length the details of the vases and their interrelationship because it is an almost universal assumption of recent scholarship that the vases show some sort of initiation ritual or rite of passage (as if they were the same thing).<sup>20</sup> The vases, if anything, show no differentiation between groups: there is no distinctive dress that can be correlated with an age group or activity, while the nakedness which has given rise to so much speculation (and it does seem unusual) seems to spread over almost all categories. Rather than any special ritual clothing, it is the variety of clothing that is surprising, more surprising than its uniformity would have been.<sup>21</sup>

A second major problem arises in trying to fit these representations to the few surviving descriptions of the ritual.<sup>22</sup> In the first place the testimonia hardly agree among themselves,

<sup>18</sup> "Young girls are naked or clothed, independent of whether they dance or run" (Palaiokrassa, p. 74). Plato (*Laws*, 833–834) says that girls under thirteen should exercise naked while those over thirteen should be clothed; while Perlman (p. 123) thinks she can see the same dichotomy on the vases, this distinction is clearly wrong: 32, for example, clearly shows two age levels, both naked. Her justification for thirteen as a critical age for Brauron depends first on dismissing the evidence of the scholium to Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 645, where the age is said to be between five and ten, in favor of the passage it comments on, which has the girls become *ἄρκτοι* after ten, and then on assuming the ritual is penteteric, on the basis of *Peace*, 873 and *AthPol*, 54.7. There are problems with both references. Aristophanes, *Peace*, 873–876 shows that men were present, but they are not shown on the vases, and it seems unlikely that they would witness a *μυστήριον*, as the ritual is said to be. *AthPol*, 54.7 says that the hieropoioi are in charge of the penteteric festivals such as the Brauronia and the Eleusinia, but we hear elsewhere (hypothesis to Demosthenes, *Or.* XXV) that the priestess was in charge of the "holy hunt" at Brauron. It seems probable that just as the penteteric Eleusinia with its public display of competitive games was distinct from the Eleusinian Mysteries (see L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin 1932, p. 91) so the penteteric Brauronia (with its rhapsodic performances, see footnote 23 below) was distinct from the girls' mystery ritual. It is perhaps revealing that Perlman's closest parallel for girls racing (mentioned also by the scholia to Alkman, fr. 1) is the Olympian Heraia, with three age groups, not two, which may be what we see on the vases. See Calame, 1977, I, pp. 63–70 for the universality of three age groups.

<sup>19</sup> S. G. Cole, "The Social Function of Rituals of Maturation," *ZPE* 55, 1984 (pp. 231–244), p. 241.

<sup>20</sup> See for example Kahil, 1983; Lloyd-Jones (footnote 16 above); Scanlon (footnote 10 above); and Montepaone. I would distinguish initiation, which is exclusive (initiates *vs.* the outside world) and not always found in a society, from rite of passage, which involves everyone and is found everywhere. I think there are many Greek examples of the former and hardly any of the latter (beyond those attached to birth, marriage, and death).

<sup>21</sup> The uniformity of dress shown on the Corinthian flasks discussed below is not in itself evidence for ritual clothing. Sourvinou-Inwood argues that "there is no variation of dress within any one group of girls shown together in one scene. This suggests that there was no variation of dress within each ritual act" (p. 119), but she then goes on to describe eight different types of dress (nine if we count nakedness) without finding comparable ritual activities for each.

<sup>22</sup> I am assuming that because both were called "arkteia" (see footnote 6 above), the Mounichian ritual, of which there is no extant description, is essentially the same as the Brauronian, but the aetiological stories attached to the two locations are really quite different, despite the attempt to equate them by W. Sale ("The Temple Legends of the Arkteia," *RhM* 118, 1975, pp. 265–284).

sometimes speaking of the participants as married women (*γυναικες*, Herodotos, vi.138) and other times as unmarried maidens (*παρθέναι*, scholium to *Lysistrata*, 645), sometimes mentioning a penteteric festival (*Peace*, 876; *AthPol*, 54.7) and other times implying a yearly celebration (*Lysistrata*, 645), sometimes describing a public display and the presence of men<sup>23</sup> and other times speaking of a *μυστήριον* (scholium to *Lysistrata*, 645) or *τελετή* (Hesychios, s.v. *ἀρκτεία*), which would presumably be private and restricted to women.<sup>24</sup> The scholium to *Lysistrata*, 645 says at one point that every girl (*παρθένον πᾶσαν*) participated and at another that only selected girls (*ἐπιλεγόμεναι παρθέναι*) did, and it gives their age as five to ten in apparent contradiction of the passage itself, with the consequence that critics are still divided about whether all Athenian girls had to participate and at what age they did.<sup>25</sup> Although scholars usually try to reconcile these varying data by discarding or minimizing some, it makes more sense to distinguish a public penteteric festival from a private, purely female ritual.

The testimonium upon which interpretations of the vases most depend is the passage in the *Lysistrata* in which the chorus describe the various ritual functions they undertook: arrephoros at seven, miller for Archegetis at ten, then “wearing (or shedding) the krokotos I was bear at the Brauronia (*καίτ’ ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἦ Βραυρωνίαις*, 645),<sup>26</sup> and then being a pretty girl (*παῖς καλή*) I was *kanephoros* wearing a fig necklace” (641–646).

<sup>23</sup> Hesychios (s.v. *Βραυρωνίαις*) speaks of rhapsodic performances of the *Iliad* and goat sacrifice, while *Peace*, 873–874 speaks of drunken men assaulting *Θεωρία* on the way to Brauron. See Montepaone, p. 352, note 23.

<sup>24</sup> Somewhat the same mix of personnel and activities is found at the near-by Tauropolia in Halai Araphenides as described in Menander’s *Epitrepontes*: women (*γυναικες*) held an all-night festival alone (474), the lyre player Habrotonon played for all the girls (*κόραι*, 477), and the men drank (472) and played dice (504). Perhaps a similar mixture should be hypothesized for Brauron, at least at the quadrennial festival (see footnote 18 above); so Perlman, pp. 126–127.

<sup>25</sup> Simon (p. 86) and Perlman (p. 128) think that all girls were involved, whereas most scholars think only a select few were, e.g., K. Wernicke, *RE* II, 1896, col. 1171, s.v. *Ἀρκτεία*; H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, London 1977, p. 140; Lloyd-Jones (footnote 16 above), p. 93; Cole (footnote 19 above), p. 242, note 53; J. Henderson, *Aristophanes’ Lysistrata*, Oxford 1987, p. 156; Sourvinou-Inwood, pp. 114–117; N. Robertson, “The Riddle of the Arrhephoria at Athens,” *HSCP* 87, 1983 (pp. 241–288), p. 278. The *Lysistrata* passage itself implies a selection, since both arrephoroi and kanephoroi were few in number. Also, when speaking of all girls, the scholiast is giving the original aition story. Regarding the actual age of the girls, many scholars support the scholiast’s range of 5–10 years: Deubner (footnote 18 above), p. 207, note 4; J. J. Coulton, “Brauron,” in *PECS* (pp. 163–164), p. 163; Henderson, p. 156; Robertson, p. 278; Osborne, p. 165; Sourvinou-Inwood, p. 24, but cf. Wernicke, col. 1171, following Mommsen (11–14 years); Kahil, 1977, p. 86 (8–13 years); Perlman, p. 130 (10–14 years).

<sup>26</sup> The “shedding” (*ἔχουσα*) interpretation, proposed by C. Sourvinou (“Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 641–647,” *CQ* 21, 1971, pp. 339–342), improved by T. C. W. Stinton (“Iphigeneia and the Bears of Brauron,” *CQ* 26, 1976, pp. 11–13), and seconded by Parke ([footnote 25 above] p. 140), M. B. Walbank (“Artemis Bear-leader,” *CQ* 31, 1981, pp. 276–281), Osborne (p. 250, note 19), and Henderson ([footnote 25 above] p. 156) has been doubted recently by Kahil (1983, p. 238), Montepaone (p. 364, note 59), Perlman (p. 118, note 19), Lloyd-Jones ([footnote 16 above] p. 92, note 32), and Cole ([footnote 19 above] p. 240). It seems to gain support from the naked runners on the krateriskoi, but it is dangerous to depend too much on only a few of the scenes on the vases, especially given the passage of Plato cited in footnote 18 above: “an Krateriskoi findet sich keine Andeutung einer solchen Zeremonie” (Rühfel, p. 105). For a full defense see Sourvinou-Inwood, especially pp. 127–134.

Even here, despite the presence of bears, the connection between vases and text is poor. From the passage we know at least three things about the girls: they are young, they are associated with the *krokotos*, and they are “bears”, but these facts fit poorly with the vases. Some of the girls on the vases are indeed young but not all are, and on **31** and **32** there seem to be at least two age levels among the participants in the race, in addition to the older women preparing the girls for the race.<sup>27</sup>

As for the *krokotos*, it clear from etymology (*κρόκος*, “crocus”) and literary references that the garment is yellow (“saffron”), yet none of the garments on the vases is yellow. Sometimes they have white folds or white borders but never any yellow.<sup>28</sup> Perlman observes too that the scholiast to the *Lysistrata* defines the *krokotos* as a himation and that none of the girls wears a himation.<sup>29</sup> Kahil, citing the scholiast, argues that perhaps the *krokotos* “était destinée à rappeler le pelage de l’ourse”,<sup>30</sup> but in fact the scholiast says only “to tend/honor the shrine (*περιέπειν τὸ ἱερόν*) wearing the crocus himation was called ‘playing the bear’,” and this may simply be a paraphrase of *Lysistrata*, 645. It is difficult to imagine how a sheer yellow dress could be taken for a bearskin.<sup>31</sup> A popular explanation has been that the girls have stripped off their *krokotoi* “as a renewal of the gesture of Iphigeneia” as described in Aischylos’ *Agamemnon*, *κρόκου βαφὰς* . . . *χέουσα* (239)<sup>32</sup> but, while this suggestion may explain the naked girls, it still does not explain those who are clothed, since they are clearly

<sup>27</sup> The two age levels are clear on **32** but less so on **31**. On **31a** the two girls on the far left seem taller than the next two girls and all are smaller than the women tending them. Rühfel seems to distinguish one older and three younger girls but concludes “keine Mädchenfigur gleicht einer anderen” (p. 107). On the other hand, one might argue that these four girls are to be identified with the four racing girls on **31b** (could there be more?) because they all wear the same costume. If there is only one group of racers on **31**, they are probably all the same age, since the group on the right are all the same height. The varied hair styles of the racers of **32c** may be a further indication of differing ages. The four or five age levels on the relief from Brauron cited in footnote 12 above should also be remarked.

<sup>28</sup> For the *krokotos*, see, e.g., Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 307–308 and Aristophanes, *The Frogs*, W. B. Stanford, ed., London 1963, *ad loc.* Sourvinou-Inwood admits “it has proved difficult to identify this *krokotos* in the representations of the bears on the *krateriskoi*” but then goes on to say the color may have been “not denoted, but perhaps indicated, connoted, through a conventionalized sign, the white decoration” (p. 121). Yet the white decoration is not obviously confined to one style of garment or one age group (cf. **2**, **6**, **7?**, **8**, **12**, **19**, **21**, **22**, **28**, **29**). For yellow in black figure see J. V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery*, 2nd ed., New York 1988, p. 128. It is not clear why P. Vidal-Naquet (“Recipes for Greek Adolescence,” in *Myth, Religion and Society*, R. L. Gordon, ed., Cambridge 1981 [pp. 163–185], p. 179) says “study of the pottery evidence from Brauron reveals that the rituals in honour of the goddess involved (sequentially?) nakedness and the wearing of a special form of clothing (the ‘crocus’ is a saffron-yellow robe).” Similarly, Parke ([footnote 25 above] p. 140): “. . . a short chiton—presumably the yellow robe.”

<sup>29</sup> Perlman, p. 118, note 19. The older women do wear chitons and himatia (**13**, **20**, **31**). Sourvinou-Inwood (p. 121) argues that the *krokotos* was a chiton.

<sup>30</sup> Kahil, 1965, p. 26; see also Coulton (footnote 25 above), p. 163.

<sup>31</sup> Keuls ([footnote 5 above] p. 316) argues that the “Bear dress” is represented as a spotted diaphanous robe, as seen on one red-figured fragment from Brauron; this vase is not a *krateriskos*, however, and cannot be differentiated from the many non-ritual red-figured vases found at Brauron: see Kahil, 1963, for illustrations.

<sup>32</sup> Kahil, 1983, p. 238; see also Sourvinou (footnote 26 above), pp. 340–341 and Henderson (footnote 25 above), p. 156. But see now N. B. Booth, “A Further Note on *κρόκου βαφὰς* in Aeschylus *Ag.* 239,” *Eranos* 85, 1987, pp. 64–65.

not clothed in krokotoi, and the variety of dress argues against any simple, uniform ceremony.<sup>33</sup> Perlman (p. 125) suggests that the krokotos may be put on at some point in the ritual to signify that the girls are now marriageable, but, although sexually mature women wear the krokotos, this state is not an absolute restriction (e.g., Antigone in Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1490–1491).<sup>34</sup> A further, rather remote possibility is that the bears are “holding”, not “wearing” the krokotos.<sup>35</sup> Alkman in one fragment (fr. 60 *PMG*) describes “carrying” the garland (φέρουσα τόνδ’ πυλεῶνα) and in another (fr. 3, line 65 *PMG*) “holding” it (τὸν πυλεῶν’ ἔχουσα), presumably describing the same action, and it may be significant that in both cases, as with the krokotos, the article (τόν) is given, as if a particular or typical object is being described.<sup>36</sup> In any case, the krokotos does not appear on the vases.

With the bears, on the other hand, at first glance there appears to be a link between testimonia and vases, but the vase which Kahil published showing humans “wearing masks of bears” seems upon closer inspection to show something quite different.<sup>37</sup> The first difficulty is that the two humans are less likely to be wearing masks than to be undergoing transformation (Simon, p. 87) and that there is no testimony that anyone was transformed at the Brauronia. Nor is either transformed human a young girl, and the presence of Artemis, Apollo, and Leto suggests a different plane of reality from the krateriskoi.<sup>38</sup> Finally, it looks as if Artemis is shooting at the metamorphosed female, who is holding up her hands in fright, but this action has no place in the myth of Brauron, which speaks of a girl being maimed by a bear which is then shot by her brothers, causing Artemis to send a plague until the populace agrees to have all young girls become “bears.”<sup>39</sup> The presence of gods and the theme of transformation suggest a dramatic performance, and Simon is probably correct

<sup>33</sup> The suggestion depends too on interpreting line 645 according to Sourvinou (see footnote 26 above) and does not make clear why the krokotos is emphasized only to be discarded. Sourvinou-Inwood now explains that “the krokotos characterizes the segregation period; the nakedness characterizes the rites following the end of the segregation period, which end was symbolized by the shedding of the krokotos which happened in the course of the Brauronia” (p. 123). Montepaone (pp. 361–362), following Chiassi, suggests that the krokotos signifies springtime, which she thinks is the probable time of the Brauronia, to judge from the parallel ritual for Artemis Mounichia (at whose sanctuary krateriskoi are also found), but the use of krokotoi as standard “dress-up” clothes for women (e.g., Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousae*, 138, 253, 1220) seems too widespread to allow such symbolism. Rühfel (p. 106) equates saffron with gold, marking “Festlichkeit und Glanz”; E. Irwin (“The Crocus and the Rose,” in *Greek Poetry and Philosophy*, D. E. Gerber, ed., Chico 1984 [pp. 147–168], p. 159) notes that saffron marks women’s garments; E. N. Davis connects it with the “Crocus-Goddess” of the Thera frescoes (“Youth and Age in the Thera Frescoes,” *AJA* 90, 1986 [pp. 399–406], p. 403).

<sup>34</sup> I owe this point to J. Reilly, “‘Mistress and Maid’ Scenes on Athenian Lekythoi,” M.A. thesis Bryn Mawr College, 1986, p. 40.

<sup>35</sup> Thus Lloyd-Jones translates, “then I had my krokotos” ([footnote 16 above] p. 92).

<sup>36</sup> So W. Peek, “Das Neue Alkman-Parthenion,” *Philologus* 104, 1960 (pp. 162–180), p. 173. For parallels for ἔχω = “hold” in a ritual context see footnote 55 below. Arguments against the “holding” interpretation should begin with the following line in the *Lysistrata* (646), in which the chorus describe themselves as ἔχουσα a fig necklace; clearly the meaning is “wearing”, since as kanephoroi their hands would be full.

<sup>37</sup> Kahil, 1977, pl. 20 (= Keuls [footnote 5 above], fig. 277).

<sup>38</sup> This is the only vase to show laurel rather than palm.

<sup>39</sup> The myth is found in the scholium to *Lysistrata*, 645 and in the *Suda*, s.v. ἄρκτος ἡ Βραυρωνίως. For detailed discussion see Sale (footnote 22 above) and, most recently, Osborne, pp. 162–168.

to see here a representation of Kallisto and her son Arkas.<sup>40</sup> This vase, then, is distinct from the krateriskoi in its iconography as well as its size, fabric, quality, perhaps shape, and probably findspot and should not be part of a discussion of the ritual at Brauron.<sup>41</sup> The other bear on the vases, the real bear on 32, offers another abstraction from reality, for it seems unlikely that a real bear was present at the girls' races. The racing girl on 31 suggests that the girl looking back in 32 is not looking at the bear but at her fellow racers. Most likely, the bear is a symbol of the ritual and identifies the race as part of the Brauronia.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the poor fit between testimonia and vases, one need not conclude with Osborne that "none of this information allows us to reconstruct a day in the life of the Brauron sanctuary" (p. 164), for Alkman's partheneia offer so many similarities in both general situation and details that it would hardly be an exaggeration to call them the script for the vases. It is surprising that although both the poet and the vases have been mentioned in general discussions of female rituals or female athletics no one has explored their similarity in any detail.<sup>43</sup>

The strongest similarity between the vases and the poems is the ceremony itself: in both cases females in a group compete in some sort of contest, march in a procession to an altar, carry a garland, and participate in a choral performance. In both cases the group is occasionally differentiated from other, apparently older women, and at least part of the proceedings takes place at night. At Brauron the deity is clearly Artemis, and it may be Artemis in Alkman's first partheneion, although probably not his third. One final common detail: sirens are mentioned in partheneia of Pindar as well as Alkman and they appear on at least one krateriskos.<sup>44</sup> Let us consider these elements more fully.

<sup>40</sup> Simon (p. 88), followed by Rühfel (p. 102). Sourvinou-Inwood does not even mention the vase. Henrichs opines that Kallisto's transformation into a bear "was re-enacted in the context of the arkteia" ([footnote 5 above] p. 265).

<sup>41</sup> "The mythical theme, it is true, is apparently an exception among the krateriskoi, but equally exceptional is the quality of the vase itself" (Simon, p. 88). A krater fragment found at Brauron (see p. 464 below, Pl. 86:a), however, shows that all "exceptional" vases cannot be dismissed. Osborne (p. 168) and Henrichs ([footnote 5 above] p. 265) consider the story of Kallisto an aetiological myth for the Brauronia even though it is completely unlike the aetiological myths which the Greeks themselves provided. Kahil's attempt (1983, p. 238) to interpret the bear-woman as the priestess of Artemis on the basis of a Hesychian gloss of ἄρκος as (among other things) "priestess of Artemis" must be weighed against the wide geographical range of ἄρκος as a variant for ἄρκτος (see Cole [footnote 19 above], p. 244, note 63), especially given the considerable evidence for non-Brauronian arkteia (see Wernicke [footnote 25 above], col. 1170).

<sup>42</sup> "Bei der Kultfeier der Arktoi war somit die der Artemis heilige Bärin gegenwärtig" (Rühfel, p. 103). Sourvinou-Inwood (p. 101, note 296) compares the emblematic use of Nike and Eros. One of the Mounichian fragments (17; Pl. 84) shows a woman in what looks like a bathing cap (cf. 27) with two ear-like buns of hair(?). Palaiokrassa (p. 194) has hesitantly identified this as a bearskin, but the "ears" are the wrong shape and size for bears' ears. Another krateriskos fragment shows what looks in the photograph like a bear (Piraeus Museum Kk 46, Pl. 86:b), but Palaiokrassa's catalogue description mentions horns and identifies the animal as a deer. Natalia Vogeikoff brought to my attention a headdress resembling bear's ears on a statue of a girl found at Brauron: Πρακτικά 1949, p. 89, fig. 19:b.

<sup>43</sup> Scanlon (footnote 10 above), for example, discusses them only in relation to the Heraia.

<sup>44</sup> L. Lehnus ("Pindaro: Il *Dafneforico per Agasicle* [Fr. 94b Sn.-M.], *BICS* 31, 1984 [pp. 61–92], p. 80) thinks Pindar's siren echoes Alkman, but see p. 471 below for the Corinthian flasks with sirens.



### *Participants*

The chorus of Alkman's partheneia (frr. 1, 3 and perhaps 60 *PMG*)<sup>45</sup> frequently refer to themselves in the feminine gender, and the non-mythical names they use are all feminine. In Pindar's partheneion (fr. 94b Snell-Maehler) the chorus is female, but they call upon the father(?) of Damaina<sup>46</sup> to lead the way while his daughter will follow the laurel (66–70), which Proclus tells us is borne by a young boy with both parents living.<sup>47</sup> The prominence of the males (including the male deity) may explain why Pindar's "daphnephoric" partheneia seem to have been listed among a separate group of poems, although this grouping is problematic.<sup>48</sup> The individuals praised by Alkman's choruses are all female: Agido, Hegesichora, Astymeloisa.<sup>49</sup>

The individuals on the krateriskoi are all female, as are those on the two related kraters. There seems to be a male on a red-figured krater fragment found at Brauron (Pl. 86:a) which shows an altar and, lying on its side before it, a krateriskos decorated with running figures.<sup>50</sup> Findspot as well as the shape and decoration of the krateriskos depicted suggest that the fragment represents Brauronian ritual, and to the left of the altar are legs of a chair and feet of a seated figure identified by Kahil as a man. Humans do not normally sit by altars, but gods sometimes do (e.g., the volute-krater by the Kleophon Painter showing Apollo, seated, watching a sacrifice: *ARV*<sup>2</sup>, 1143.1). The solitary, overturned krateriskos suggests that the scene is part of a story.

Both on the vases and in the poems there are women who are isolated from the group. On 31 there are several females who stand by an altar holding ritual objects such as baskets and laurel branches and, at the same time, appear to be preparing the young girls for a race.<sup>51</sup> They are larger (i.e., older) and wear both chiton and himation, as opposed to the

<sup>45</sup> These are fragments 3, 26, and 126 in Calame, 1983. I follow the numbers of *PMG* except where noted.

<sup>46</sup> So Lehnus (footnote 44 above), pp. 84–85.

<sup>47</sup> Proclus, *apud* Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 321b. Fr. 94a does not come from a partheneion: L. Lehnus, *L'Inno a Pan di Pindaro*, Milan 1979, p. 79; G. Kirkwood, *Selections from Pindar*, Chico 1982, pp. 333, 335.

<sup>48</sup> Lehnus (footnote 47 above), pp. 68–85.

<sup>49</sup> Calame (1983, pp. 388–389), on the basis of his frr. 24, 80, 81, and 82, argues that there was a male choregos in Alkman's partheneia. Fr. 24 provides maidens and perhaps the name *Dumainai* (δ|υμαιν[ . . . , although there is no guarantee that this name was part of the poem), while *Dusmainai* (usually emended to *Dumainai*) are defined by Hesychios as members of a Bacchic chorus in Sparta. Fr. 80 offers praise of the males Kalaisos and Polydoros as well as the daughter of Timasimbrotos, while fr. 81 furnishes a commentary which speaks of [χ]ορος δνμ[ ]τρα δνμ[, and fr. 82 gives as choregos Agesidamos, who is apparently praised by ἀμέων ἄλικες νεανίαι φίλοι τ' ἀγένοι, the "we" which Calame interprets as a maiden chorus. But all this falls far short of proof: all that fr. 24 establishes clearly is a group of female *Pitanai*, while fr. 82 gives a chorus of youths (ἀγένοι) along with the young girls. Equally problematic is Calame's fr. 137 (= 38 *PMG*), which gives clear evidence for female παῖδες praising the lyre player, but these παῖδες form only part of the group ("those of us who are παῖδες praise the lyre player"), a phenomenon unparalleled in the choruses of partheneia.

<sup>50</sup> Kahil, 1965, fig. 8:8 (= Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 3:8), shown more fully in Kahil, 1963, pl. 14:3, reproduced here with the kind permission of Dr. Kahil.

<sup>51</sup> Another basket, clearly a kanoun, is shown on a black-figured krateriskos fragment from the Athenian Akropolis (621b; B. Graef and E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I*, Berlin 1909, pl. 37). This fact may support those (e.g., Walbank [footnote 26 above]) who interpret the kanephoros in the

simpler garb of the girls. In Alkman's first partheneion two women, Agido and Hegesichora, are named and praised at length for their attractiveness to the chorus. In the little we can read of the third partheneion, Astymeloisa is similarly singled out by name and praised for her allure. All three women seem to be separated from the chorus and engaged in some sort of ritual. Agido and Hegesichora seem not to be present (οὐ . . . πάρ' αὐτέῃ, fr. 1, lines 78–79) but to be attending to the θωστήρια (line 81) and to be praying on behalf of the chorus, who ask the gods to receive (their prayers? ἀλλὰ τᾶν . . . σιωὶ δέξασθε, lines 82–83).<sup>52</sup> Astymeloisa, likewise, is separated from the chorus: she does not answer them (fr. 3, line 64) but has gone off (διέβη, line 70), carrying the πυλεών.<sup>53</sup> The assumption (made by most scholars) that Agido, Hegesichora, and Astymeloisa are older than the members of the chorus permits a comparison with the clear separation on 31 of the older women carrying the baskets from the young girls they are preparing for the race. Similarly at the Heraia in Elis, a group of sixteen older women offered a robe to Hera while three groups of girls ran races (Pausanias, v.16), and there is a somewhat analogous arrangement closer to Alkman in the Spartan ceremony honoring Dionysos Kolonatas, in which the daughters of Dionysos and Leukippos offered sacrifice while “the other eleven also called daughters of Dionysos ran a race” (Pausanias, iii.13.7). It may be recalled that Alkman's chorus is “ten instead of eleven” (line 99).

### Procession

The speaker of Alkman, fragment 60 (*PMG*) is a female who prays “carrying (φέρουσα) this garland (τόνδε πυλεώνα)” while Astymeloisa in fragment 3 is said to have passed through (? διέβη) holding (or wearing) the *pyleon* (τὸ]ν πυλεών' ἔχουσα, line 65) and in fragment 1 Agido and Hegesichora seem to be by the sacrificial altar praying. Hesychios glosses πυλεών as “crown/garland (στέφανος)”, and Athenaios (xv.678A) says that according to the late Alexandrian lexicographer Pamphilos the πυλεών was a crown that Spartans placed around (a statue of) Hera. The use of the definite article in both fragments of Alkman to refer to the garland suggests that it was a ritual object,<sup>54</sup> and it seems likely that the action described in both fragments is the same even though in one case it is the

*Lysistrata* as processing for Artemis, for which there is other evidence (Philochoros, *FGrHist* 328, F 101; Theokritos, *Idyll* ii.66). Montepaone (p. 358), among others, attaches the kanephoros to the Great Panathenaia, but similar baskets are shown carried by women in a procession on a lebes gamikos found at Brauron (see footnote 57 below).

<sup>52</sup> Θωστήρια is glossed as ἐορτή by the scholiast and as “banquet” or “name (of a festival)” by Hesychios. Critics are divided as to whether Agido and Hegesichora are present (M. Treu, *RE Suppl.* XI, 1968, s.v. Alkman, p. 27; J. T. Hooker, “The Unity of Alkman's Partheneion,” *RhM* 122, 1979 [pp. 211–221], p. 215) or absent (M. L. West, “Alcmanica,” *CQ* 15, 1965 [pp. 188–202], p. 201). Calame (1983, p. 341), assuming that Hegesichora is the choregos mentioned in line 84, concludes that she cannot be far away. Agido is said “to call the sun to witness to shine” (42–44) but, again, critics do not agree what this means.

<sup>53</sup> “Elle vient donc de traverser” (Calame, 1983, p. 411).

<sup>54</sup> *Contra*: Calame (1983, p. 407): “le πυλεών . . . pourrait simplement représenter l'une des parures qui, en Grèce, distinguaient les femmes particulièrement belles; ce mot n'aurait ainsi aucune connotation rituelle spécifique.”

“choral I” who carries the garland while in the other it is a named character, Astymeloisa, the object of the chorus’ affections. The fact that in one case the verb used is *φέρω*, the normal term for carrying a ritual object, and in the other *ἔχω* is probably not significant since *ἔχω* too can be used in a ritual sense.<sup>55</sup> The chorus of fragment 1, on the other hand, speak of carrying (*φεροίσαις*, line 61) a *φᾶρος*, which one would translate “robe” were it not for a marginal scholium saying that a Hellenistic scholar named Sosiphanes called it a plow.<sup>56</sup> If the *φᾶρος* is a robe, it can be equated with the *krokotos* in the *Lysistrata* and the numerous dedications of clothes listed in the Brauronian inventories.<sup>57</sup> But the available krateriskoi show no females carrying robes, and the girls in Alkman, fragment 1 are not carrying a garland. As already noted, all three protagonists are separated from the chorus and engaged in some sort of ritual activity.

While the girls processing on **2** approach the altar with outstretched but empty hands, those running on **32** carry what is clearly a garland, as does the figure on **26** and probably the one processing on **28** and the one dancing on **10**.<sup>58</sup> Given these unmistakable garlands, it seems reasonable to identify the freestanding circular objects in the background of **2** and **4** as garlands as well.<sup>59</sup> If they are garlands, their prominence, especially given the outdoor setting of the altar and palm tree, may be explained by their being symbolic or emblematic of the ritual, like the bear on **32**.<sup>60</sup> In any case, more often than not, both on the vases and in the texts the object carried is a garland. We should note also that just as both “choral I” and protagonists can carry the garland in the poems, so do both the girls and the older women on the vases.

A further element common to texts and vases is nocturnal activity. The chorus of Alkman, fragment 1 describe themselves as carrying the *φᾶρος* “through the ambrosial night” (lines 61–62),<sup>61</sup> while on the vases several of the females carry torches while running (**3**, **15**, **24**) or dancing (**8**). Although torches do not necessarily mark a nighttime scene, torch

<sup>55</sup> Albert Henrichs has drawn to my attention the term *κληιδόουχος* (although one can imagine the priestess “wearing” the key) and to *IG XI 4*, 1299, line 4, a description of a priest carrying a statue of Sarapis (*τὸν θεὸν ἔχων*).

<sup>56</sup> The scholium is supported by a number of other testimonia: see *PMG ad loc.* and R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, Oxford 1949, fr. 287.

<sup>57</sup> So already S. Wide (*Lakonische Kulte*, Leipzig 1893, p. 115), who at the same time points to the connection between sickles dedicated to Artemis Orthia and the putative plow. Scanlon ([footnote 10 above] p. 78) sees Alkman’s passage as a parallel for the offering of the robe to and the games for Hera. Garments, perhaps *φάρη*, are carried by women processing to a statue on a lebes gamikos found at Brauron (Brauron Museum 453; Kahil, 1983, fig. 15:15).

<sup>58</sup> In the restored drawing (Kahil, 1977, fig. B), all the figures on **32** are shown carrying garlands, but in the photograph only the garlands held by the females in fragment c are visible, and these are held not in both outstretched hands (as restored in fragment a) but hanging from the lower hand.

<sup>59</sup> They could be “stuffed” fillets; on **3**, it is clearly fabric that is hung in the background. In general I have not tried to distinguish between crowns, garlands, and fillets.

<sup>60</sup> They resemble the fillets and lekythoi sometimes shown in the background near grave stelai on white-ground lekythoi.

<sup>61</sup> Scholars generally agree about its being a real night (although West [(footnote 52 above) p. 197] calls night “part of the metaphor”) but not about night’s relevance to the song. Note that fr. 3 implies that the chorus have been sleeping.

races do seem to be associated with all-night festivals.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps more important, the nighttime carrying of the *φᾶρος* seems to take place before the choral singing in which Agido is compared to the sun (line 41), to which she seems to be praying, and the dawn goddess Eos is mentioned (line 87).<sup>63</sup> One might argue that the same sequence is found on the vases. On 31 one of the “priestesses” is standing by an altar holding two baskets. It seems likely, although not certain, that the baskets were borne in a procession and that the procession preceded the race. Some small confirmation is provided by Pindar’s parthenion, where a laurel branch is carried in procession, for the central woman on the vase carries laurel branches in both hands.<sup>64</sup>

### Race

On the vases the most common activity for the females is running, and the two kraters (31, 32) make it clear that the girls are running in a group, i.e., racing. Admittedly, one might interpret 32 as reconstructed by Kahil to mean that the females are running from the bear in their midst, but the location of the bear is not certain, and the close proximity of two palm trees that results from her reconstruction argues against such positioning (cf. 1).<sup>65</sup> Since 31 shows young girls racing in short chitons with nothing in their hands while 32c shows older-looking females running naked and holding garlands, one may wish to conclude that there were different types of races and different age levels among participants, as at the Heraia in Elis. The presence of a very young girl on 32a, the apparent similarity in gesture of running with hands outstretched among both the young girls of 31 and the older females of 32a, and the differing arrangements of hair for the females on 32c further complicate interpretation and may in fact cast doubt on the vases as incontrovertible evidence for ritual.<sup>66</sup>

Racing is hypothesized for the partheneia primarily on the basis of the talk about running in fragment 1 and the comparison of Agido and Hegesichora to Venetic and Ibanian horses: “the second after Agido in form runs like a Kolaxian horse with an Ibanian” (lines

<sup>62</sup> So, for example, Montepaone (p. 363) thinks torches automatically symbolize a pannychis. This is clear in the case of the Bendidia (Plato, *Rep.* 328A) but seems unlikely for the torch-races which are attested for Hephaistos, Athena, Pan, Prometheus, Herakles, and Theseus (J. Jüthner, *RE* XII, 1924, cols. 569–570, s.v. *Λαμπαδηδρομία*). All-night celebrations were common for women, especially when worshipping marginal gods and goddesses like Adonis, Dionysos, Artemis Tauropolos, and Bendis. For nighttime dancing: Euripides, *Bacchae*, 862.

<sup>63</sup> Scholars continue to disagree about whether it is still night (add Hooker [footnote 52 above], p. 211 to the list of M. Vetta, “Studi recenti sul primo *Partenio* de Alcmane,” *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 39, 1982 [pp. 127–136], p. 136, note 13), or sunrise (see the list in Calame, 1977, II, p. 125), or an unspecified time. An unanswered chronological question involves the occasional shift to past time in both partheneia (fr. 1, lines 86, 89, 91; fr. 3, line 70).

<sup>64</sup> The red-figured fragment showing the krateriskos at the altar (Pl. 86:a) may be relevant, since there is a laurel branch beside the vase.

<sup>65</sup> The krateriskos fragment in Plate 86:b shows a deer(?) behind what appear to be the trunks of two palm trees, but it seems unlikely that these are the usual palm + altar combination.

<sup>66</sup> Keuls ([footnote 5 above] p. 314) draws attention to the hunting frieze below and concludes that the runners are not racing but hunting.

58–59).<sup>67</sup> Basic to this interpretation is Theokritos, XVIII, an epithalamion for Helen sung by her age-mates, who used to race with her along the Eurotas (συννομάλικες αἶς δρόμοις αὐτός/χρυσαιμέναις ἀνδριστὶ παρ' Εὐρώταο λοετροῖς, lines 22–23) and who compare her to, among other things, a Thessalian horse (line 30). The poem has even been made the interpretative key to Alkman's whole partheneion and, while that is certainly excessive,<sup>68</sup> the idea that Hegesichora and Agido race is supported by fragment 3 where the chorus speaks of being led πεδ' ἀγῶν' ἵμεν [ᾶχι μά]λιστα κόμα[ν ξ]ανθὰν τινάξω (lines 8–9). The most natural interpretation is that after a contest of some sort (πεδ' ἀγῶν') they will go to a dance<sup>69</sup> at which they will toss their hair, and the most likely contest for Spartan girls is racing, which they probably did naked.<sup>70</sup> As in Alkman's first partheneion, the chorus describes past activity, present dancing, and a beloved one engaged in ritual elsewhere.<sup>71</sup>

### *Song and Dance*

The chorus of Alkman's partheneia are obviously singing and dancing and sometimes so describe themselves: shaking their hair in dance (fr. 3, line 9),<sup>72</sup> hymning a beautiful song (fr. 3, line 5), singing the light of Agido (fr. 1, lines 39–40), screeching like an owl (fr. 1, lines 86–87), and they repeatedly mention their chorus leader (fr. 1, lines 44 and 84).

The girls on the vases are commonly pictured dancing (8, 10, 11, 12, 16, 21, 26, 30), and one female holds what seems to be a staff (27), or perhaps a torch, which may mark her as a chorus leader (or referee?). Two black-figured fragments from the Athenian Akropolis

<sup>67</sup> So Calame, 1977, II, pp. 70–72 and 1983, p. 331. West ([footnote 52 above] p. 197) argues that “the choice of simile does not of course imply that . . . [they] are due to run a race; one could as well infer from 86 that the whole choir is sitting on a rafter.” But this is to confuse the tenor of the simile and its vehicle: the chorus are not actually owls, but they are singing; similarly, Agido is not an Ibanian horse but she may well be racing. The same objection applies to the argument of G. Giangrande (“On Alcman's Partheneion,” *Museum Philologum Londiniense* 2, 1977 [pp. 151–164], p. 155): “the girls' speed is a perfectly orthodox metaphor emphasized by Alkman to denote their singing ability.”

<sup>68</sup> There is hardly any overlap in the rituals of the two poems: no robe/plow or nighttime procession appears in Theokritos, no plane tree, oil, libation, crown, or inscription in Alkman. *Contra*: Calame, 1977, II, pp. 123–125; A. Griffiths, “Alcman's Partheneion: The Morning after the Night Before,” *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 14, 1972, pp. 7–30.

<sup>69</sup> Presumably after changing into their dancing costume, unless the runners did not dance.

<sup>70</sup> See Perlman, p. 121, note 34, for female nakedness. In Lesbos (in the precinct of Hera, according to the scholium to *Iliad* ix.129) the contest would probably be a beauty contest, and this has given rise to considerable conjecture, although we should note that Alkaios describes this as for γυναικες in fr. 130, line 34. See also Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1147, ἀμίλλας χαρίτων. For choral contests see now J. Herington, *Poetry into Drama*, Berkeley 1985. E. Lobel (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXIV, London 1957, p. 13) interpreted Alkman's πεδ' ἀγῶν' ἵμεν as “to join the gathering,” and this has been followed (e.g., Calame, 1977, II, p. 111 and 1983, p. 401 and, more hesitantly, Herington, p. 22), but, since πεδ' Ἀγίδω in fr. 1, line 58 most likely means “after Agido” and likewise πεδὰ τὰς τρόπας in fr. 17, it is likely that πεδά in fr. 3, line 8 also means “after.”

<sup>71</sup> Diskin Clay, in a lecture at Bryn Mawr College in 1987, made the attractive suggestion that the “light” of Agido was in fact a torch, and if this is so, the connection with the running girls holding torches on the krateriskoi is very close indeed.

<sup>72</sup> “Cet acte correspond à l'un des éléments constitutifs de la représentation grecque de la danse des adolescentes” (Calame, 1983, p. 401).

(621a and c)<sup>73</sup> show an aulos player, a subject which may be related to Pollux's reference to an *αὐλὸς παρθένιος* (iv.81). The presence of a siren beside one piper (621c) also fits neatly with the praise of Hegisichora in fragment 1, line 96 as almost as tuneful as the sirens, and the mention of sirens in Pindar's partheneion (fr. 94, line 13).<sup>74</sup> Finally, it has been shown that the dancing on the vases is not done near altar or palm; similarly, the chorus in fragment 1 seem to be separated from the sacrifice at which Agido and Hegesichora officiate, and sacrifice implies altar.

### Goddess

The goddess at Brauron is clearly Artemis: the mythological aitia discuss only her, and she is the only goddess in the written sources who is associated with the area. The locale of the scenes on the krateriskoi is often identified by a flaming altar and a palm tree, and the palm is sacred to Artemis.

The identity of the goddess (or goddesses) in Alkman's partheneia, on the other hand, is uncertain. The chorus say they especially love to please Aotis (= Eos? line 87) and they carry the *φᾶρος* either for Orthria (Ὀρθρίαι, dative singular) or at dawn (ὀρθρίαι, nominative plural). If one follows the scholiast, they are carrying it for Orthia, i.e., Artemis Ortheia, the famous Spartan goddess. This interpretation seems to gain support from Pausanias' contention (iii.16.7) that the statue of Artemis Ortheia at Sparta was actually meant for Brauron and from Calame's connection of the chorus of Dumainai in several partheneia with Artemis Karyatis by way of Pratinas.<sup>75</sup> The problem with this otherwise attractive interpretation is that inscriptions (admittedly late) show that the quantity of the penultimate syllable of Ortheia is long whereas the poem's meter requires a short syllable.<sup>76</sup> Also the other possibility, Ὀρθρίαι, "dawn goddess", fits well with the later mention of Aotis/Eos. The situation is further complicated by the reference in Athenaios, discussed above, which specifies the recipient of the *πυλεών* as Hera.<sup>77</sup> Although it is attractive to connect the Orthria of Alkman with Brauronian Artemis, the obstacles are great and it is probably better to concentrate on the generic similarities between the songs and the vases.

<sup>73</sup> Graef and Langlotz (footnote 51 above), I, pl. 37; Kahil, 1981, pl. 62:1, 2 (= Sourvinou-Inwood, pl. 4:1, 2).

<sup>74</sup> Sirens occur in another fragment of Alkman (fr. 30) and perhaps a third (142, see Lehnus [footnote 44 above], p. 89, note 58) which could be a partheneion. Calame (1977, II, p. 81, note 67), followed by Lehnus (p. 82), argues that the sirens in Euripides, *Helen*, 169 (cf. 1478–1494) are meant to describe the chorus, who are young maidens, although the funereal aspect seems dominant here (R. Kannicht, *Euripides. Helena*, Heidelberg 1969, II, p. 67). Sirens do not otherwise occur in lyric poetry except for the confusing papyrus commentary (P. Berlin 13875) that yields Pindar, fr. 339 and Simonides, fr. 607 *PMG* (G. Zuntz, "Pindar and Simonides," *CR* 49, 1935, pp. 4–7), but they do occur in many contexts on vases, and so one cannot make too much of the connection.

<sup>75</sup> See footnote 49 above. Even if we posit a chorus of Dumainai (the chorus of Pitanaï is much more clearly attested), we still must accept another emendation to connect them with Pratinas' play titled *Dusmainai* or *Karyatides* and must at the same time dissociate them from the Bacchai described by Hesychios.

<sup>76</sup> See Calame, 1983, p. 333, and add H. Jucker and E. Risch, "Orthia oder Ortheia?—Zum Namen der Göttin 'Orthia'," *Hefte des archäologischen Seminars der Universität Bern* 5, 1979, p. 27.

<sup>77</sup> Calame's rather speculative interpretation as Hera-Aphrodite (1977, II, pp. 107–108) was later retracted (1983, pp. 407, 526–527). See footnote 54 above.

A final connection between poems and vases may be function. Partheneia differ from all other forms of choral poetry in being exclusively female and totally private.<sup>78</sup> Elsewhere the "choral I" always includes the poet, but in partheneia the "I" is only the girls of the chorus, who speak of themselves in the feminine gender, never talk about making poetry, and repeatedly set themselves off from the objects of praise.<sup>79</sup> Even so self-conscious a poet as Pindar managed to write partheneia with a female persona, although his line about its being fitting "to think maidenly things" (*παρθενήια φρονεῖν*, fr. 94b, line 34) may suggest to some that he found the task uncongenial; one should also note that there is a fair amount of epinician praise inserted in the poem (lines 42–60). Another oddity in partheneia is the way the chorus describes itself at length and even names its members. The personal nature of the poetry is evident to anyone who has tried to understand what the poems are talking about, with their "simple but allusive intimacy; limpid, no doubt, to an audience familiar with the personalities and the ritual."<sup>80</sup>

The dedications by women at Brauron were similarly private (though not concealed) and self-referential: "The very fact that the bulk of the dedicants do not identify themselves clearly either to us or to their contemporaries suggests that for them it was the making of the dedication and not the being seen to have made it that is important" (Osborne, p. 160). One may hypothesize that the vases, which have been found in great quantities all over the site, were likewise private dedications by females, given to them as they made their trip to Brauron. The krateriskos lying by the altar (Pl. 86:a) should probably be interpreted as a dedication rather than a ritual vessel that has been used and then tossed aside, since the krateriskoi are too numerous and their decoration too varied to allow for any narrowly cultic application.<sup>81</sup>

Comparison of Alkman's poems and the krateriskoi allows the latter to be interpreted with considerably more certainty than before. Still, the importance of the connection is less likely to be that they both described the same ritual than that they both represent what females in a group ritual generally did together. Women and girls tended in their rituals to

<sup>78</sup> By partheneia I mean Alkman, fr. 1 and fr. 3 and Pindar, fr. 94b, not what the Alexandrian scholars labeled such: "il est difficile de déterminer les critères utilisés par les critiques alexandrins" (Calame, 1977, II, p. 163). Other examples of maidens singing alone include Sappho, fr. 30 Lobel-Page; Pindar, *Pythian* III.78–79 (in a marriage context); Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1142–1152 (in a marriage context); of women singing alone, Alkaios, fr. 130 Lobel-Page; of maidens singing in public, Euripides, *Electra*, 171–180. For mixed groups see footnote 18 above.

<sup>79</sup> For bibliography see Lehnus (footnote 47 above), p. 68, note 44 and add Herington (footnote 70 above), pp. 20–22.

<sup>80</sup> W. S. Barrett, rev. of *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXIV, *Gnomon* 33, 1961, p. 683. Thus Lehnus ([footnote 44 above] p. 79) speaks of "la tradizione almanica di ispirare al coro parole adatte al suo sesso e alla sua età, piene di giovanile (e rituale) efflorescenza."

<sup>81</sup> The krateriskos "tilted toward the ground . . . must mean that a liquid was being poured on the ground" (Kahil, 1983, p. 237). Rühfel thinks the krateriskos held purifying water (p. 193, note 74) but observes that many of the actual krateriskoi had ashes in them and that the numbers found at Brauron suggest that they were dedications (p. 102).

TABLE 4

Source or place	God	Group	Activity	Dedication
Alkman, fr. 1	Eos	chorus; Agido and Hegesichora	process, pray, race, sing	φᾶρος
Alkman, fr. 3	Hera	chorus; Astymeloisa	contest, chorus	garland
Brauron	Artemis	all ages	race, process, sing	krokotos?
Elis	Hera	16, maidens	sacrifice, race	peplos
Sparta	Dionysos	3 elevens	sacrifice, race	

process to altars, to race, and to perform chorally, probably in that order.<sup>82</sup> Such a conclusion may help explain why the correspondence between the testimonia for the Brauronia and the vases is so poor. The sources would be interested in the unique, the specific, the anomalous, the public, and the male; the vases offer none of this. Thus the private female ritual(s) portrayed on the krateriskoi should be differentiated from the public penteteric festival and from the "holy hunt" or *μυστήριον* sometimes encountered in the sources. The traditional dances by girls were so widespread that they can appear in essentially the same form in a 7th-century Spartan poem or on a 5th-century Attic vase, and they were so ordinary as to go without remark in the extant sources.

Such an interpretation is supported by the apparently cultic Corinthian flasks of the late 6th and early 5th centuries showing women and girls dressed alike, holding garlands and processing (or dancing?) amid various ritual activities.<sup>83</sup> Critics have connected them with other illustrations of women involved in ritual on contemporary Corinthian vases of different shapes without noting that the other vases hardly ever show girls in the pictures and almost invariably involve men as well as women. I think it more likely that the flasks form a special category. Of the 27 listed by Jucker, 16 have human figures; 14 of these show only females (no. 6 shows male komasts; no. 10 shows Achilles with Troilos). Six show large group processions of women (nos. 7, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19), 4 show a few women together (nos. 1, 4, 8, 14), and 4 show females obviously engaged in ritual activity (nos. 2, 11, 12, 13). Three of these last four have young girls as well. Perhaps significantly, sirens appear on 2 (nos. 4, 5). Jucker thinks the deity is Artemis, but this interpretation has been challenged by Callipolitis-Feytmans.<sup>84</sup>

Further support for the general nature of the similarities between Alkman's partheneia and the Brauronian krateriskoi is provided by other rituals involving parthenoi, which show a great variety in the details but again and again the same basic activities of procession, sacrifice, contest, and chorus. The rituals for Hera in Elis and Dionysos Kolonatas in Sparta mentioned above exhibit considerable range (see Table 4).

<sup>82</sup> The same order is hypothesized for the Oschophoria by J. A. D. Irvine and I. C. Rutherford, "The Race in the Athenian Oschophoria and an Oschophoricon by Pindar," *ZPE* 72, 1988 (pp. 43–51), p. 48.

<sup>83</sup> I. Jucker, "Frauenfest in Korinth," *AntK* 6, 1963, pp. 47–61; D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, "Déméter, Coré et les Moires sur des vases Corinthiens," *BCH* 94, 1970, pp. 45–65. Jucker (p. 56) even compares the robes on one flask (no. 21.2) with the φᾶρος of Alkman, fr. 1.

<sup>84</sup> Callipolitis-Feytmans, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Jucker (*op. cit.*, p. 60) is followed by Rühfel (p. 116).



The Brauronian krateriskoi, then, show, first, that even highly distinctive vases strongly connected to a sacred spot show little distinctive imagery, and, second, that there are dangers inherent in using literary sources to interpret Greek vases. The vases must first be interpreted in their own terms, a consideration which makes us all the more eager for the complete publication of the krateriskoi from Brauron and of the pottery of the site as a whole.

RICHARD HAMILTON

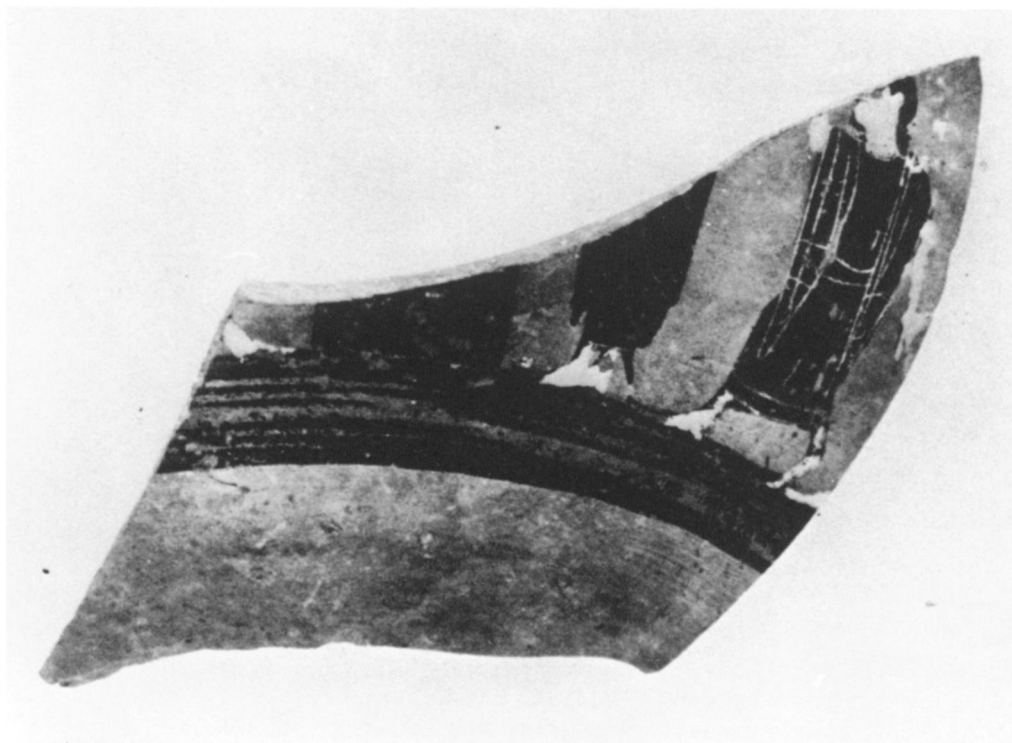
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12. Kk3 (Palaiokrassa, pl. 44:γ)



14. Kk9 (Palaiokrassa, pl. 46:α)



13. Kk8 (Palaiokrassa, pl. 45:β)

Piraeus Museum, Fragments of Krateriskoi from the Sanctuary of Artemis at Mounichia



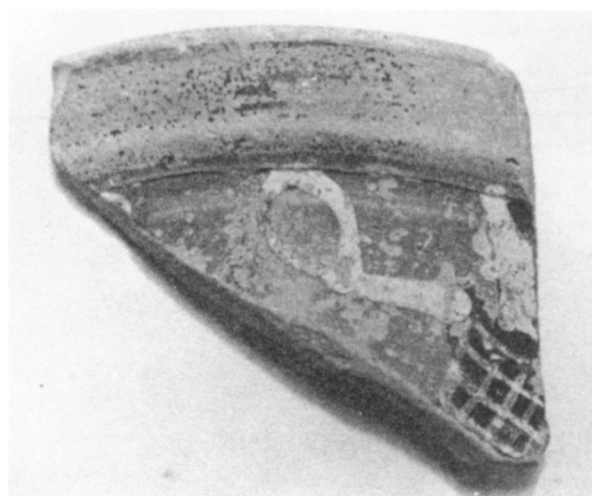
16. Kk17 (Palaiookrassa, pl. 47:γ)



17. Kk18 (Palaiookrassa, pl. 46:δ)



18. Kk21 (Palaiookrassa, pl. 46:γ)



19. Kk24 (Palaiookrassa, pl. 47:α)

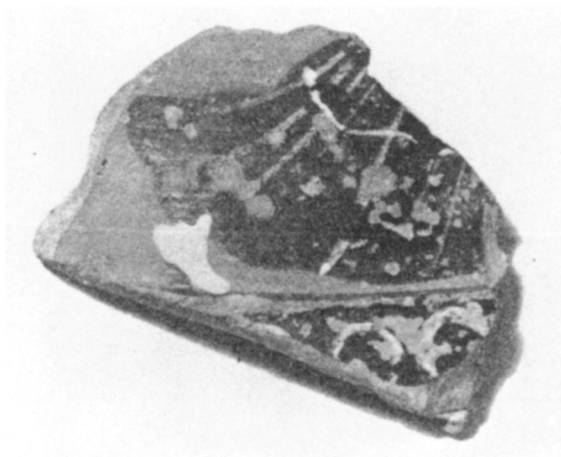
Piraeus Museum, Fragments of Krateriskoi from the Sanctuary of Artemis at Mounichia



20. Kk26 (Palaiokrassa, pl. 48:α)



21. Kk53 (Palaiokrassa, pl. 51:β)

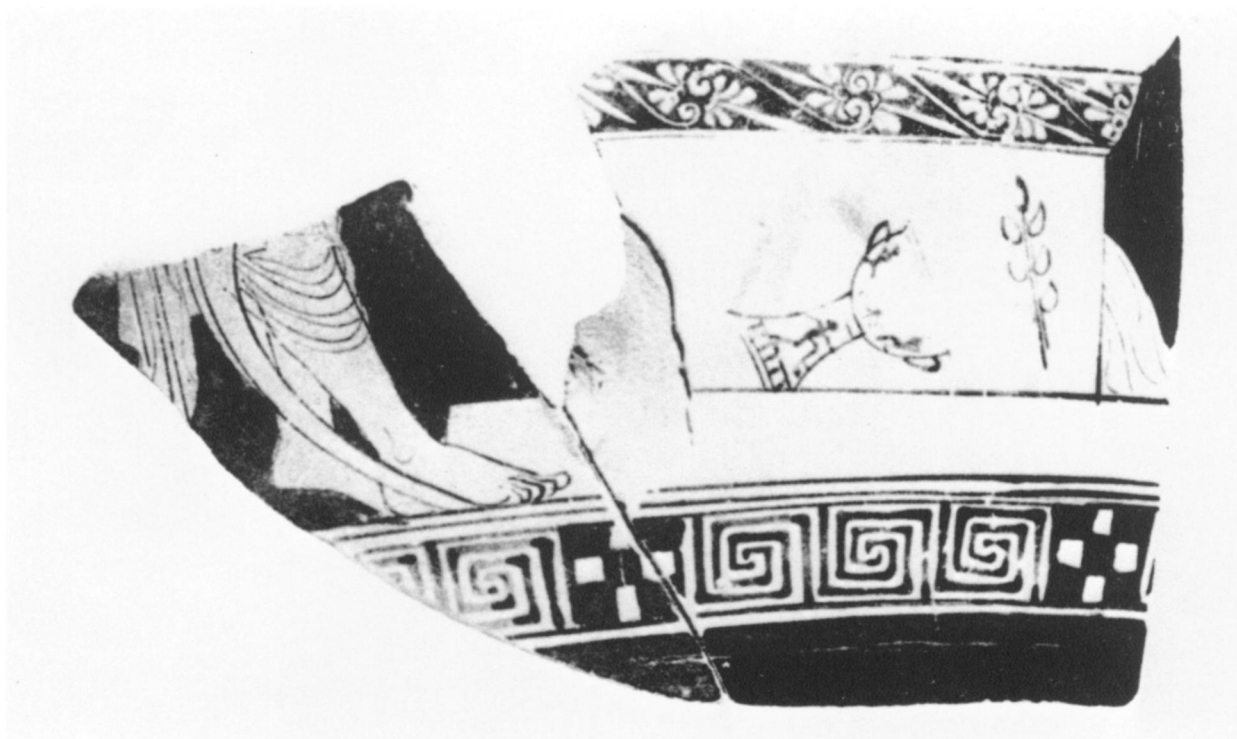


22. Kk54 (Palaiokrassa, pl. 51:γ)

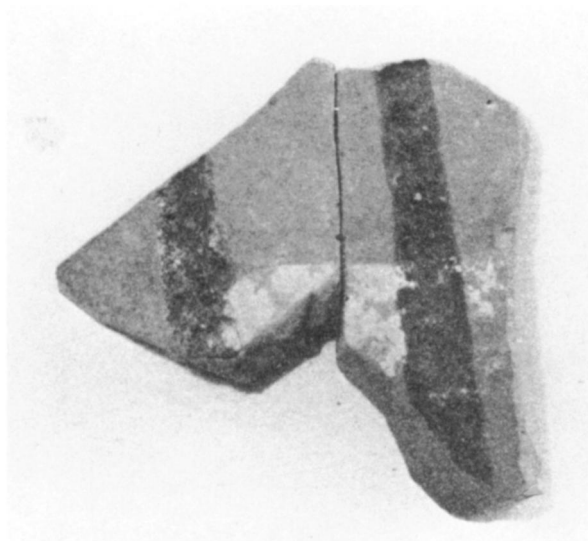


23. Kk55 (Palaiokrassa, pl. 52:α)

Piraeus Museum, Fragments of Krateriskoi from the Sanctuary of Artemis at Mounichia



a. Brauron, red-figured krater fragment (Kahil, 1963, pl. 14:3)



b. Mounichia, sanctuary of Artemis, krateriskos fragment. Piraeus Museum Kk46 (Palaiookrassa, pl. 50:γ)